1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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be divorced from the patterns of relationships which they symbolize, and their role cannot be understood except in the fact. 593

If then we turn back to the common life of the families of the small farmers, it is these very terms which give us the clue to the relationships which that life builds up.

In the Irish family, the sons and the daughters are equally subordinate; there is no formal distinction made between them. The kinship terms of both the English and the Irish languages reflect this equivalence of siblings. In either case, one term, son or *mac*, reflects the unity of the position of all male children, the procreated generation, from the point of view of the elder or procreant pair, the mother and father. Similarly, a single term in both languages, brother and *dearbhráthair*, expresses for the siblings their common occupancy of that position. Rural Ireland knows neither primogeniture nor junior right. Except as age differences separate them informally, the brothers occupy the same status both within and outside the family group. Thus neighbors and other outsiders refer to them all alike as "the boys" of the farmer's family. 593 601

Accordingly, their equality reflects itself in farm activity. All are on an equal footing there. The brothers are all alike under the father's direction and control as long as they remain on the farm. They work together, and the years of common effort and common dependence create a strong solidarity between them. Though only one of them may ordinarily expect to inherit land and cattle, the others renounce their rights as it were in the interests of the identification of the family group with the land they work. The bloody faction fights which used to disfigure Irish country life have practically passed away, but the forces which brought them into existence still continue. Many a country fight involving a dispute over rights of way and water courses brings in the adherents of all the brothers of either 593 628 [428]

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cessor to land and chattels. The family property, house, stock, and land, descend to him intact. The other sons must be provided for elsewhere. 428

In choosing the son to remain upon the farm, the father has full power of decision. His interest lies in choosing among his sons the one he thinks will carry on most successfully. There is no rule or norm in the matter; and the brothers are united in expecting an adequate return for their years of service. But none of them may claim more than the other, and they are all dependent upon the father's sense of their fair deserts. In many cases there may be an early difference among them in the inclinations they show in adolescence. But the special position a brother occupies in this regard is a matter of agreement among them all and easy enough of adjustment.

Turning now to the other relationships neither fraternal nor parental within the family, it is obvious that those among the females and between females and males build up in the same way as the ones we have already discussed. 593

The family makes a formal distinction between the female members and their male fellow members in terminology, just as it builds a dichotomy of behavior upon the sexual difference. Thus in the procreated generation daughter and sister, *inghean* and *deirbhshiúr*, correspond to son and brother; for the daughters occupy equivalent positions in a common subordination to the parents. 593 601

These terms express merely a classification of the female individuals and their positions in the complex of reciprocal relationships between family members. What has been said of the conditioning of the boy can be repeated of the girl, with, of course, a difference in the techniques acquired. And no less than in the boy's case, farm work is merely a part of the total adaptation the girl makes toward her fellows and toward the environment in which they live. 593 861

The work of the women is as important in farm economy

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CHAPTER V

The Kinship System

THE mothers and fathers who order farm life are themselves sons and daughters. They have or have had (before their creation of a family of their own upon the farm) much the same relationships with their parents as their children have with them. Indeed in many cases households comprise three generations. Grandfathers and grandmothers of the children live in the house. Family structure is not confined to the immediate present family group, but descends with each generation as the boys and girls reach social maturity at marriage and the creation of their own families.

This descent forms the basis of any kinship system; it provides also the basis upon which the "friends" to whom one has obligations in rural Ireland are reckoned. The individuals comprised within the system are so because of their sharing of that descent in common. These are one's "people" or "friends," in the countryman's vocabulary.

The terms express the generic category into which the kindred fall. Both terms are, in a sense, translations of Gaelic idiom. The first, people, corresponds exactly with the Irish *muinntear*. The second in ordinary rural usage refers not to a comrade, as in English, but to one's relatives. Even in the towns, one's father, mother, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters, are referred to as "immediate friends." In the countryside one speaks of one's kinsmen as one's

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601 612 "friends," particularly if they occupy one's own generation; one's father's relatives, even his brothers, become "my father's friends." A "distant friend" refers not to distance in space but to that in cousinship.

612 593 Before we detail the individuals included within this category, let us make two points clear. The first of these is directly associated with the dominance of the father within the family. He comes, as it were, to stand for the group which he heads; the farm is known by his name, and [591] wife and children bear his name likewise. For the Irish [611] family is patrilocal and patronymic, to use the technical terms. Farm, house, and most of the household goods descend from father to son with the patronym; we shall follow their general movement in a later section.

611 612 This patrilineal descent gives a certain accent upon the kinship system; it chooses one line of descent out of the many possible and gives those who make it up a common name. There is a reflection of this fact in the groupings of Irish rural life. To outsiders a person may be known as "a boy of the Shannons" or a "man of the Flaherties," but in a sense these groupings are merely linguistic conveniences. For in many cases two families of Shannons may live side by side, yet not be considered "friends." None of the obligations of kinship bind them. For in the phrase of the countryman: "They are not the same Shannons or, if they are, they are too far out."

Our examination of the various ways of reckoning kinship will make the statement clear. Patriliny is merely one device, an extension of the father-son relationship, by which individuals are included in one's group of "friends."

593 582 A second observation upon the kinship system springs from the fact that the family relationships regulate sexual conduct. Indeed, our examination of farm agriculture leads us to see that the technological training of the individual goes hand in hand with the sexual. Marriage prohibitions,

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Likewise, if such development of relations is carried a step higher, the brothers and sisters of the grandfather and grandmother, with their families down to the generation of the growing child himself, can retain an interest which springs out of the original brotherhood or sisterhood between them. The "friendliness," the give-and-take, the "welcome put down before" the individual, come quite naturally to the child at the hands of these relatives. His parents visit their own uncles and aunts, take occasional presents, lend them labor and so on. The child finds himself included; and he finds himself expected to adopt a similar intimacy of behavior with the children of these houses which he visits.

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In the generation of the father, his father's brothers and mother's brothers are known as uncles; their sisters are known as aunts, both terms being the usual English classificatory ones. In both Irish and English among country people, however, descriptive terms seem to be preferred, though the English terms have been taken into the Irish as *aintín* and *uncail*. In the countryside these classificatory terms are still felt to be slightly foreign, and, as is always the case even within the immediate family relationship, kinship terms are seldom used in address. There is no distinction made between parents' siblings upon seniority. The terms niece and nephew exist, but are used by farmers only in legal contexts. Descriptive terms, such as brother's son, take their place.

In the direct line of ascent, parents' parents are "grandfather" and "grandmother" in English, according to sex, without reference to the sex of the immediate parent of the speaker. In Irish, terms correspond exactly: *seanathair* or *athair criona*, *seanmháthair* or *máthair criona*. In the direct line of descent, however, only the English terms for children's children, grandson and granddaughter, are classificatory and neglect the intervening child. The Irish terms are completely descriptive, specifying the sex of the child whose children are the grandchildren in question. They

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are *mac mhic, mac inghine, inghean mhic, inghean inghine,* respectively (i.e., son's son, daughter's son, son's daughter, and daughter's daughter).

Father's and mother's siblings' children are called, as in English, cousins, or more specifically first cousins, a classificatory term without distinction in sex. The term, however, is never used as a term of address. In fact, "returned Yanks" who bring back the American usage of prefixing the word to the name of their "friends" in address are ridiculed. The word seems to be slightly foreign to the brogue. "Friend" is the usual designation, or a descriptive circumlocution is used both in Irish and English, such as "our fathers were brothers," or *clann na beirte dearbhráthar,* in which relationship is established by reference to an immediate family connection in the ascendant generation.

Irish terms for these relatives are various. The commonest is *col ceathair.* This term is interesting because it introduces the type of reckoning upon which the kinship system is built. *Col* is the term used to refer to blood relationship within which marriage is prohibited. By extension it refers to consanguinity and to an ecclesiastical impediment to marriage. Thus the phrase *cia an col atá agat leis* is used to ask, "What is the blood relationship you have with him?" and to go to the priest for a dispensation removing an impediment to marriage is known as *ceannach col* (buying *col*). Among the English-speaking countrymen of Clare the word "call," pronounced quite similarly, is likewise used to signify relationship. Thus one "friend" is said to "have a call on" another. Whether or not the words are one and the same we do not know; in any case the English word seems to refer both to the obligations and the blood relationship.

First cousins then are known in Irish as *col ceathair* or fourth *col* whenever the specific designation of these relatives is required. The choice of the numerical adjective is

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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601 presumably determined by counting the number of individuals or, better, personalities separated by reciprocal relations within which *col* or prohibitions arise. They are, for instance, myself, my father, my father's brother, and my father's brother's son. Here the accent upon the kinship system makes use of the two consanguine reciprocals within the immediate family: parent-child and sibling-sibling. Through the working of the principle of equivalence of siblings only two generations, my father's and my own, are considered. Thus the same reference to an immediate family relationship as we saw in such circumlocutions as "our fathers were brothers" is contained in the term.

601 612 582 Another set of terms exists in Irish for reckoning these relatives. The authors have not heard it in use in Clare, however. In it, first cousins are said to be *a dó a's a dó i ngaol*. The phrase means literally "two and two in blood relationship." Here accent is placed upon the lineal father-son (parent-child) descent, for brother and sister are called *a h-aon a's a h-aon i ngaol* – that is, "one and one." The reasoning here traces back to a common parent; in the latter case there is but one step, in the former, two.

The Church uses the system embodied in this last terminology in determining consanguinity. The following slightly abridged quotation indicates that it also recognizes a different system in Roman civil law.

> The civil (Roman) law founded its degrees in the number of generations. Thus between brothers there are two degrees, between first cousins there are four. [Compare *col ceathair.*] Canon law still follows this system in determining inheritance, but the Church for marriages computes, in the collateral line of consanguinity, one series only of generations, and if the series are unequal only the longer one. Hence, the principle of canon law is there are in the transverse or collateral line as many degrees of consanguinity as there are persons in the longer line counting the common stock or root.[1]

[1] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, article, "Consanguinity."

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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Thus brother and sister are in the first degree, uncle and niece in the second, because niece is "two degrees from grandfather." First cousins are likewise reckoned in the second degree for the same reason. Here, as in the counting *a dó a's a dó i ngaol*, the accent is upon the parent-child reciprocal. The Church calls this the *linea recta* of descent. It bases its prohibition of marriage (incest) in the *linea recta* upon divinely ordained natural law. No dispensations for this type of marriage are ever granted.[2]

Another system is perhaps commonest — at least in Clare, where the authors have met it on several occasions — among the methods used to determine kinship in order to maintain the bounds within which alliance is forbidden. It appears both in Irish and in English speech. The system reckons descent by "generations." The Irish phrase is to *réidhteach gaol* by counting *glúin*.[3] *Gaol*, we remember, is the word for blood relationship in general; *glúin* refers first to a knee joint, then by extension to a step in family descent, a generation. In this reckoning, first cousins, that is, parents' siblings' children, are said to be in the *tríumhadh glúin*, or, in English, "the third generation."

Here the accent is again upon two elements in the constellation of reciprocals within the immediate family: the parent-child reciprocal and the equivalence of siblings. By counting back to the common grandfather or grandmother the *gaol* or "blood" is determined through three generations, i.e., ego's, his father's, and his grandfather's. Each person in the line of descent seems to represent a generation. All so descended in ego's generation are "friends."

Still another system of reckoning cousinship may be contained in certain idiomatic terms for the cousins. The authors here rely only on the Irish language dictionaries, for they have not heard these terms used. First cousins are

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Cf. Canon O'Leary's *Mo Sgeul Féin*, where he has a chapter (*Mo Shinnsear*) in which he reckons his ancestry in these terms.

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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601 612 designated in the phrase *tá siad i n-ó amháin*, which can only be translated in some such terms as "they are in the one grandson(ship)," for the word *ó* or *ua* was in ancient and medieval Irish the term for grandson and today seems to survive chiefly in the *O'* of surnames. This last idiomatic usage is merely a restatement of the reckoning by generations, and corresponds with English and Irish usage in explaining cousins by saying that they had the same grandfather.

All these systems of reckoning first cousins we have seen to be extensions outward of immediate family reciprocals to include the parents' siblings' children on the basis of their common descent with ego.

The process, however, does not stop there. For the descent is carried a step further back to a common great-grandparent. Marriage taboos and extended family obligations go backward and upward with the reckoning. Thus second cousins are recognized as being within the kindred and within the prohibited degrees. In fact, in the authors' experience the obligations of cooring and "friendliness" were equally strong with them.

To include these, all the various terminological reckonings of cousinship undergo an expansion. By the various terminologies, the group of kindred who are common descendants with ego of the same great-grandparent become *col seisear* (sixth *col*); relatives in the third degree (as reckoned by the Church); *a trí a's a trí i ngaol* (three and three); members of the *ceathradh glúin* or "fourth generation"; and lastly, in the idiomatic terms for cousinship, *ar a dá ó* (thus: in the second grandsonship).

The first of these terms, "sixth *col*," illustrates again the reckoning through counting the persons separated by reciprocal relations within which prohibitions arise. They are, for instance, patrilineally: ego (1), father (2), father's father (3), father's father's brother (4), father's father's brother's

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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son (5), and the last's son (6) who is again normally within ego's generation. By counting the common root, for instance, again patrilineally, father's father's father, four generations are counted together. These four explain the *ceathradh glúin*.

Now both the Church and Irish rural society reckon descent bilaterally; all possible roots, male and female, are counted. In that case, the count gives thirty-two kinship personalities in ego's own generation who come within this group of first and second cousins. These can all be counted as cousins or "friends." They are within the range of *col* or marriage taboo. They make up the extended family whose behavior we have examined above. Of the thirty-two, only two (father's brother's son and father's father's brother's son's son) in ego's own generation bear the same patronym as he; but the total number of personalities within the system bearing ego's patronym is nine, if the immediate progenitors back to common great-grandfather are counted.

Consanguinity is carried one step further by the Church. As a barrier to marriage, or diriment impediment, it extends to the "fourth degree." This includes the group taken from a common descent yet a generation higher. It brings in those relatives known in English as third cousins.

These include all those descendant from a common great-grand-grandparent, described in the various terminologies as "third cousins," *col ochtar* (eighth *col*), members of the *cúigeadh glúin* or fifth generation, or people *ar a trí ó*. As before, the emphasis in each of these terms is to link together all those kindred of one generation who have common descent. When all possible roots are taken into account, the personalities so linked ideally number 128. The total within the whole system, including those of all generations ascendant, bearing the same patronym as ego, is thirteen, and five contemporaneous generations are comprised.

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This last group is formed then by extension outward of the same principles found within the immediate family which determined the formation of the smaller ones of first and second cousins. Ego's descent from his parents is extended upward through the ascending generations and downward through his children to the descending generations. But ego and his siblings are equivalent in their relation to their parents. So, as the parent-child reciprocal is extended vertically, a lateral extension of the equivalence of the first siblings occurs concomitantly. In this way, an ever-widening circle of individuals are brought into reciprocal relationship with ego, expressed through their bearing a name in common, as his line of descent is traced further back. The marriage taboos within the immediate family follow the extensions both vertical and lateral.

Recapitulating, then, the relationships of ego with his kindred depend upon his place in the successive generations of descent through either male or female progenitors. The emphasis in the system is twofold. In the first instance, it places the individual within a given series of parent-child relationships, and in the second it establishes a commonalty between him and the other individuals who occupy the same place within that series. The structure of the restricted family functions identically; that of the extended family uses the same mechanisms to effect an integration of individuals upon a larger scale. The great proliferation of methods of describing this kinship system arises from a cause inherent in the system. All the terms we discussed are attempts to categorize the widening circles, lateral and vertical, of kindred; the desire to establish reciprocal terms to designate the members of the widening circles; [4] there is no need to particularize except in the horizontal and vertical lines.

[4] The extension of sibling equivalence to embrace widely one's generation is further exemplified in the Irish terminology. *Bráthair*, the word etymologically cognate with *frater*, brother, is used to describe all kinsmen of one's generation;

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When these two emphases upon the kinship system are recognized, it becomes evident why there is a lack of terms describing those individuals appearing above and below ego's generation but not in the direct line. In the direct line we do have such terms as grandfather, grandson, etc., but the others do not figure. They are not named except descriptively, and even then usually only in reference to the generation which they occupy. Thus father's father's brother is called "my grandfather's brother." The term granduncle exists, but it has not found its way into the countryman's vocabulary.

Similarly, though uncle, aunt, nephew, and niece have become fully acclimated to Ireland, there is still a marked preference for descriptive terms. The son of a cousin is described in such terms, and the immediate progenitors of the cousin are thought of in terms of their place in the precedent generation. They are thus "my father's friends," though they are, of course, within ego's kinship group. In this way, two distantly removed cousins can often establish a relationship and adopt the requisite behavior to one another through establishing a more immediate connection in a parental generation.

The bounds of the consanguine group are naturally not rigid in this type of extensional structure. There is a gradation of intensity in the taboo as it extends towards the peripheral relatives. First and second cousins, to use the more convenient English terms, are tabooed, the first more strongly than the second. Third cousins, felt to be "very far out" and sometimes "not counted" by the Irish, are nevertheless formally tabooed by the Church. Yet dispensations can be obtained with relative ease for kindred of this degree. They are granted for all alliances within the system for "cause" inward even as far as first cousins and uncles and nieces, but

a different word, *dearbhráthair*, or "true-brother," is reserved for one's father's son.

absolution from the sin of adultery must be obtained before normal relations of husband and wife can be resumed. This is the effect of the infringement of the marriage taboo upon wife's relatives.

In a patrilineal, patrilocal structure, such as the Irish one, the wife is brought into the husband's family, given a place therein, and takes his patronym. Yet the inclusion is not complete, and, though a woman takes the husband's name, especially among the upper classes and at law, becomes the mistress of the husband's house, and in a thousand ways is oriented to her husband's group, her origin is never lost sight of. Her kindred are referred to as "my wife's friends," yet through the integration of the two families at marriage they become likewise "friends" of the husband. Kinship obligations extend to them.

From an internal point of view, however, marriage is a destruction of two former restricted families, in so far as two individuals leave them in order to form a new restricted family in which the individuals are husband and wife. Perhaps because of this disruptive effect on the paternal families, there is no provision made for a closer integration between them. No terms express the new relationship; the emphasis of relationship by affinity is restricted to the point of view of the marrying couple. Where the primary accent is upon vertical descent through blood kindred, there is little scope for a lateral rapport between the parental families of the marrying pair.

From the point of view of the marrying pair, however, an extension of kinship bonds is made. They are now one. Thus the immediate family of ego's wife are included in ego's kinship group. In the English terminology these relatives are called father-, mother-, brother-, sister-, son- "in-law." It must be noted that the terms brother-in-law and sister-in-law do not include wife or husband's siblings' spouses. The British and American usage extends the term

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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581 601 612 to them, but neither the Church nor the Irish farmers include them within the kinship system. Marriage taboo, which the Church calls diriment impediment, does not extend to them. For this reason two brothers may marry two sisters under canon law, and a man his stepson's widow. There is no "blood" connection. For the same reason, the spouses of mother's and father's siblings, who are called uncles and aunts in American and British terminology, are not included in ego's group; "call" does not extend to them; they do not "belong" to ego.

581 611 612 The explanation of this exclusion of all relatives by affinity except those brought in by ego's own individual marriage lies in the concept of marriage uniting only the marrying individuals. For in the Irish system blood descent alone determines kinship: from the point of view of ego only those within a common system of blood descent are recognized as kin. Accordingly, on marrying, only those within a common system of descent with ego's wife become kin. Such a rigid adherence to the principle of descent does not prevent the development of very amicable and prescribed relations with such individuals as one's father's brother's wife. It merely excludes them from one's own kinship group.

601 612 The Irish terminology expresses the same reckoning of affinity. The word *cleamhnas* covers both marriage and relationship by affinity. It also indicates a "match." The word *céile* is used both as an adverb with the sense of the English word "together" and as a noun meaning "mate."

601 612 539 *Céile* is the root of various expressions, such as *céilidheacht*, referring to marriage. In Irish, father-in-law is called either *athair cleamhna* or *athair chéile*, mother-in-law *máthair chéile*, as in the proverb:

> Bean mhic is máthair chéile,
> Mar chat agus luch ar aghaidh a céile

(mother-in-law and daughter-in-law like cat and mouse together).

Similar terms are used for brother- and sister-in-law. But in both languages the tendency is again to use purely descriptive phrases analogous to those we found in designating blood kindred. Thus "my wife's brother" and "my wife's mother," etc., are much more often heard among the farmers, both in English and in Irish.

The Irish language, however, has a separate term for son-in-law. It is *cliamhan*, which is related to the word *cleamhnas*. It is the only nondescriptive term in general use, for daughter-in-law is rendered as "son's wife" (*bean mhic*) in Irish. It may be that the singling out of this relative among those united to one by affinity reflects the greater importance put upon males in a patrilineal system.

The relatives by affinity just described include all those of the spouse's immediate family. The principle at work has been to coalesce ego's immediate or restricted kindred with his wife's. Beyond this group to whom the extension of the kinship behaviors is primary lies the total group of the wife's extended kindred. They are referred to as "my wife's friends"; there is a general tendency to extend kinship behavior to them; and they lie within the prohibited group. They are what might be expressed as potential kindred in the same sense that ego's third, fourth, and fifth cousins, their progenitors and descendants, are potential kindred. Should the need arise, the common descent may be remembered. At times of family crises, particularly at funerals, this sort of bond comes into active force.

In this fact lies the peculiar character of a kinship system based upon extension rather than rigidity of form. The demarcations between the kindred groups of one individual and the next are not rigidly drawn. The individual can expand and contract the group outward from the restricted family to which he belongs. If he is important in the com-

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Through the workings in and out of the interlocking series of pyramids mentioned above, an isolated area of small population can soon become inextricably intertangled. Hence in the poorest and most isolated regions we find the greatest amount of intermarriage. Evidence is not definite on this score, but the indications point in that direction. As these have been generally the last regions to lose the Irish language, it is there that we find the greatest proliferation of terminologies whose purpose is to preserve the structure and to determine the precise limits set for marriages. Marriages under such conditions force a nice adjustment of reduplicated kinship bonds. Dispensations are obtained under the conditions we have mentioned, and accordingly the parish priest is made a party to every marriage, a great extension of his authority.

Through such intermingling, it very often happens that a comparatively large area will be peopled entirely by individuals standing within near degrees of kinship one to another. In such a case the local group attains the added solidarities of common kinship. To an outsider, such a group, closely integrated through kinship bonds, occupying the same general level of social stratification and the same general place in the economic system, and dominating a large or small area (sometimes as large as a parish), presents a united front. It exhibits a very effective solidarity against outsiders. It is this solidarity which gives rise to the assumption among outside observers that the clan still exists in rural Ireland. It is this solidarity, too, which expresses itself in the political cohesion of large sections of the countryside.

In the appended figure (Fig. 10) one can get a view of this reckoning of descent within this kinship system as a whole. The figure is arranged in block form and divided between left and right by male and female sex. The generations are numbered after the fashion of a checkerboard, and each block or square represents a kinship personality. Each

15: Fox E-5 (1962) 1963 ER6 Rural Irish ER6
Tory Island

[P. 153, B]

551 **192** In *The Aran Islands*[1] Synge makes the following observations on the system of personal names then in use (1898–1902):

> When a child begins to wander about the island, the neighbours speak of it by its Christian name, followed by the Christian name of its father. If this is not enough to identify it, the father's epithet—whether it is a nickname or the name of his own father—is added.
>
> Sometimes when the father's name does not lend itself, the mother's Christian name is adopted as epithet for the children.
>
> Occasionally the surname is employed in its Irish form, but I have not heard them using the 'Mac' prefix when speaking Irish among themselves; perhaps the idea of a surname which it gives is too modern for them, perhaps they do use it at times that I have not noticed.
>
> Sometimes a man is named from the colour of his hair. There is thus a Seaghan Ruadh (Red John), and his children are 'Mourteen Seaghan Ruadh,' etc.
>
> The schoolmaster tells me that when he reads out the roll in the morning the children repeat the local name all together in a whisper after each official name and then the child answers. If he calls, for instance, 'Patrick O'Flaharty,' the children murmer, 'Patch Seaghan Dearg' or some such name, and the boy answers.
>
> If an islander's name alone is enough to distinguish him it is used by itself, and I know one man who is spoken of as Eamonn. There may be other Edmunds on the island, but if so they have probably good nicknames or epithets of their own.

[114 184] While on Tory Island (Oileán Thoraighe), Co. Donegal, in 1962, I collected the names of all living adults and found the system to be basically that reported by Synge for the Aran Islands, with enough distinctiveness to be worth a separate analysis.[2]

● 601 551 Kinship terms are rarely used among the islanders except between young children and their parents and parents' siblings. Cousinship is indicated by saying of a person something like 'his mother and my father were the children of two brothers' (*Bhí a mháthair agus m'athair clann na beirte dearbhráthar*), or 'we are children of brother and sister' (*Támuid clann dearbhráthar agus deirbhsheathar*). But in a small community where the genealogical links between persons are common knowledge, such descriptive explanations are rarely called for. Personal names are used 551 instead and in themselves help to indicate a person's position in the kinship structure by showing his line of descent for up to four generations.

A person will in fact have three sets of names: a Gaelic 'ceremonial' set; an English 'practical' set; and a Gaelic-English 'personal' set. A man's full Gaelic name will consist of his baptismal name followed perhaps by his 'epithet' such as Óg (young—usually means youngest of several brothers), Bán (fair), Mór (big), Beag (small—wee), [585] followed by his surname. Such a combination might yield, for example, 'Pádraig Óg Mac Ruadhraigh.' A woman, strictly speaking, retains her family name on marriage and adds the descriptive phrase 'wife of' (literally 'woman of')

* *With two tables*

16:Messenger E-4,5 (1955-1966) 1969 ER6 Rural Irish ER6
(1959-1960) Inis Beag

fireplace has a profound psychological significance in Inis Beag and, in a sense, is a force drawing the family together. Now that only three hookers transport peat from the mainland—when in the past there had been more than a hundred—and the price of turf increases considerably year by year, coal or bottled gas stoves are being used by most families. Although coal and gas are cheaper to burn, and coal throws out more heat than turf, the coal fire in the hearth does not foster camaraderie as does the peat fire. The replacement of fireplace by stove and the "stink" and dirtiness of coal are denounced incessantly by the islanders, and the disappearance of the "sweet smell" of burning sods and a multitude of customs associated for generations with the peat fire are lamented.

Many functions are served by "the room." It can accommodate the displaced parents after their son has married, if all agree, for it has a bed which can serve them (as well as distinguished guests, spectators at parties, and now tourists and summer language school students). This chamber is the best kept of the house, with the newest and most valuable of the furniture and often a linoleum floor, and its walls and ceiling are whitewashed or painted frequently. Family heirlooms and objects of sentimental value, which are parted with only as a last resort, are found here. Religious pictures adorn the walls, and on the mantel over the fireplace are photographs of the family going back generations, especially of those who have emigrated or are deceased. When "the stations" are performed every two decades in the cottage, the mass is read in "the room," and certain rubrics used in this ritual are afterward kept here. Finally, the chamber serves as a dance floor when the crowd at a party in the house overflows the bounds of kitchen, hall, and street.

The social universe of the islanders is divided into four segments: close kin or "friends" (Previously, I have used this word in the American sense.), distant kin or "those I have a relationship with," other islanders, and outsiders or strangers. "Friends" normally extend generationally to include ego's parents, grandparents, children, and grandchildren, and collaterally to include his affines (spouse's kinsmen), siblings, and first, second, and third cousins—termed, respectively, "four-of-kin," "six-of-kin," and "eight-of-kin."[1] With the intensification of inbreeding, most of the folk are eight-of-kin, and this is why the parish priest examines the genealogies of families at the time of the match. Marriage between first cousins is forbidden, between second cousins demands permission from the bishop, and between third the consent of the parish priest. Distant kin are relatives extended collaterally beyond eight-of-kin, while outsiders include the curates, teachers who are not islanders, lighthouse keepers, the Dane, tourists of local renown, and, as I have just indicated, even in-marrying women and descendants of recently arrived immigrants (also, of course, inquisitive anthropologists).

Although inheritance and succession are patrilineal on the island, descent is bilateral—traced through both agnatic (father's) and uterine (mother's) lines --with a strong agnatic bias.

[1] These positions are pictured horizontally (generationally) and vertically (collaterally) in block form in Arensberg and Kimball 1940:96 in the chapter "Kinship System." The Irish kinship system is common to peoples of Western Europe and America (the Eskimo type), and much of the kinship information reported by Arensberg and Kimball applies to Inis Beag.

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593 602 —with a strong agnatic bias. Rights and duties are distributed among cognates, but they are less strong among uterine and affinal kin, as well as among relatives of both lines according to distance from ego. Rights and duties include obligations to assist and defend, and mutual assistance in Inis Beag characterizes farming, fishing, housebuilding, unloading turf, carrying the coffin at a funeral, and many other activities. Reciprocation in some form for services rendered is almost an obsession among both kin and non-kin, and not to reciprocate adequately means to lose face. The matter of mutual defense will be considered in later sections and chapters.

551 Only 13 surnames are represented on the island, and there are 27 families bearing a single one, 11 bearing another, and 8 a third. Most Christian names are those of the Blessed Virgin and of saints, especially from the Irish past. Michael, Patrick, Sean (which often is transformed into John, although Eoin is John in Irish), Thomas, Martin, Peter, Coleman, and Joseph—in that order—are the most popular first names for males, while for females it is Mary, Brigid, Margaret, Ann, [844] [197] Catherine, Sarah, Nora, and Teresa. In the past, it was customary for Inis Beag women to bear their offspring at home attended by nurse, midwife, or skilled female relative; but during the past decade, most infants have been delivered in the mainland hospital serving the island, where mothers have learned of "different" surnames and have assigned them to their own children—such as Gerard, Xavier, Christopher, and Pius for boys, and Rita, Carmel, Veronica, and Jude for girls.

601 561 Each person in the island has a term of reference which never is employed as a term of address.[2] For a man, it is a nickname or his Christian name followed by that of his father: "The General" or Sean Michael. Women ordinarily are not given nicknames; if single, they append their father's first name to their own, and if married, their husband's. An adult man may bear the Christian name of his mother following his own rather than his father's, if, for instance, his mother was widowed early or unduly dominated her husband. Nicknames relate to such things as occupations, abodes, personality idiosyncracies, stature, color of hair, and events of the past; and many are uncomplimentary to the degree of fomenting disputes if uttered at improper times or to inappropriate persons.

155 593 Before turning to reciprocal relationships which exist between certain agnatic, uterine, and affinal relatives, it is necessary to examine two phenomena which have a vital bearing on kinship and other behavior: the Oedipus complex and male solidarity. Fr. Alexander J. Humphreys says that there is in Ireland a ". . . centripetal mechanism built into the fabric of rural life. This is the strong, preferential love of the rural mother for her sons. She is a magnetic center of the family and her cohesive power is affection. This love, which leads her 'to slave' for her sons and to demand that her daughters do likewise, cushions the sons' hard lot. It mollifies the constant rub of his subordination to his father . . ."

[2] A term of reference is a name used to refer to a person who is not present, while a term of address is a name used to address a person to his face. In America, one might say in referring to his mother, "That woman walking toward us is my mother.", and then greet her as she joins the group, "Hi, Mom."; in this case, mother is a term of reference and Mom a term of address. Often terms of address in the Western world are Christian names, and some terms of reference and address may be identical. Anthropologists usually collect only terms which are used to designate various kin.